596 (private freehold), most common in the old-Amhara pro-
[428] vinces (and in Tigre). "Rest" land is inherited only by sons, not by daughters, except in the relatively rare case when a family short of young men permits a son-in-law to settle in its hamlet, whereupon some land may be inherited by the daughter who is consanguinal kin. Daughters may inherit movables such as cows, sheep, some personal belongings of their mother or father (of the father if there are no sons).

601 Kinship terms do not often differ between terms of address and reference, but often between formal and informal terms which are applied in a variety of ways ranging from authoritarian familiarity to endearments. Differences of gender are also expressed.

The generic term for kinfolk is "zämäd". Consanguinal kinfolk, on both the father's and mother's side, are called "wägän", and if they reside far away and are rarely seen the kinship is re-emphasized by the term "yäsega zämäd" (lit. kinship of one flesh). Consanguinal families sharing the same residential hamlet
[178] are called "betä zämäd" (lit. kinfolk of the house). It
[572] is noteworthy that in very recent times, in urban areas where kinship functions are somewhat attenuated, the term "zemad" has become extended to include a close personal, though not related, friend.

The affinal relationship is generically called "amachenät", a male affinal relative is addressed and referred to as "amach", a female as "amcha"; whether
[illegible] or female.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

000 letting the audience become aware of this collusion. (footnote 93).

B. Interpersonal Etiquette and Relationships.

571 Interpersonal etiquette among the Amhara governs particularly
576 those relations that can be described as "secondary group", for relations
[602] within the "primary group" are governed largely by specific kinship or religious rules of behavior.

It is a rare case - and considered very sad - if a person has no kin, and must base most of his human relations on secondary- group affiliations. The latter relationship includes most prominently the "agär" (lit. country, i.e. home district). Sometimes this refers only to the immediate parish, sometimes to the "meketl worädä" sub-district; but if a person finds himself in another province he may include the entire district, "worädä"; though the concept of "agär" does not usually extend beyond this territory in any real meaning of secondary group. If a person has no kin to turn to for aid in legal trouble, or needs a "mas" guarantor to secure a job, he may seek out a man from his "agär". For this reason there is motivation to observe rules of etiquette particularly with individuals in the "agar" secondary group, such as visiting or inviting them, bring them "enqutatash" gifts and flowers (through children) at New Year and "Masqal" festivals, etc. Such gifts are not given to complete strangers from a more distant territory, who are called "bada" (slightly derogatory term, with connotation of "rustic").

576 Interpersonal etiquette within the secondary group may lead to
572 closer personal relations between two individuals, taking certain

Footnote 93 - Leslau: An Ethiopian Minstrel's Argot. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1952, Vol. 72, No. 3 pp. 102-109

576
572 specific forms. This relationship is mostly that of the "balenjära" (lit. mutual breadgivers), who enjoy the privilege of visiting each other without formal prearrangement; who may call upon each other to stand personal bond ("wäs"); who are likely to ask each other to act as negotiator for the marriage of a son or daughter before the affair becomes a formal kinship matter.

The very absence of a kinship tie makes it possible for "balenjara" to negotiate arbitration of blood-money to end or prevent a bloody feud between kin groups. The intenseness of the "balenjära" relationship may range from the trusted, though casual companion, "gorämsa", usually an age-mate, with whom interpersonal relationships are frequent and regular, but not intense; to the more intense but less frequent and less regular relationships with the "wädaj", a warm friend, "tebeq wädaj", the intimate confidante, so that the two individuals become "mestiräna" (mutual bosom pals) to each other. "Balenjära" address each other with "antu" (the more polite form of "thou"; and other "thou", "anta", being used for children and inferiors mostly). When walking or standing and talking to each other, "balenjära" (and also other acquaintances, if on the same social level) interlace one or two of their fingers, loosely, but enough to remain in physical communication. Like kinsmen, "balenjära" men kiss each other on t he neck when they meet after not having seen each other for some weeks. Women may also establish "balenjära" relations with other women, and go on picnics together after the harvest in the dry season, especially on church holidays, but Amhara men believe that women do not form long-lasting friendships as often as men do.

[203] Dissemination of news and rumors through the "grapevine" occurs frequently through the channel of the "balenjära", who utilize the occasion of a bit of news as justification to drop in on each other, and to share barley beer and "enjära" bread (hence the term).

576 [572] Apart from this interpersonal relationship of choice, in which two individuals establish psychological response to each other (and mutual aid) outside the kinship group, most other forms of interpersonal etiquette are patterned so formally that they can be readily learned (even by outsiders). The vagueness and ambivalence of shifting etiquette of the Western world of modern times has not yet affected Amhara culture. Even modern-educated Amhara continue to fall back to the established pattern of traditional etiquette as soon as they return to their own country.

576 a) Formal Expressions of Status of Class, Age, Sex.

In formal expression of status, be it of class, age or sex, Amhara etiquette differentiates most sharply the dominant role from the role of the subordinate.

The most dramatic expression of this is the "gursha". It is enacted by the status superior toward the status inferior, a symbolic giving of food, money, wages, or other gifts. Thus, the master who wishes to indicate fondness and favor to the servant, will stuff some morsels of food into his mouth, publicly, while at dinner. A father will do it to his children, or to his wife. A chief may do it to a visiting "great man" of inferior or equal status, but never to a superior. However, a wife who has been married for some time and feels secure enough in her status to demonstrate equality, may jokingly return the favor and feed "gursha" to her husband, but only after he has initiated the activity.

[465] Servants, when receiving wages, receive them with both hands raised above the head, with bowed head and downcast eyes, and must never look at the money, much less count it in presence of the employer; for etiquette requires that wages be regarded as "gursha". (In recent years, the term "gursha" has become used in the sense of "tip", gratuity, baksheesh.)

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

zamad is highly subjective, and all constellations of ***zamad*** reflect the interests and affections of ego. For the quality of kinship can be attributed to persons who are not consanguineal relatives, and this is done without resorting to fictions of affiliation. The term ***wandam***, for example, meaning "brother," is simply applied to any male person of about the same age to whom one feels closely attached. The term ***zamad*** itself is applied to anyone to whom one feels a close personal tie—even to a mere fellow-countryman whom one happens to meet in a distant region. It is thus not taking too great a liberty to translate the term ***zamad*** as "close ones."

The primarily subjective nature of the circle of ***zamad*** derives not only from the fact that it includes friends as readily as actual blood relatives. Within the bounds of consanguinity, the composition of the kin group with which a person identifies fluctuates according to his current needs, particularly with respect to land use rights. As Allan Hoben has demonstrated, corporate descent groups are important among the Amhara in that rights to land use are allocated on the basis of hereditary claims possessed by such groups; but the fact that in this ambilineal descent system each individual may claim multiple active affiliations, and enjoys a relatively wide range of choice, means that the particular corporate descent group with which an individual affiliates in order to claim his rights varies according to what land is subject to disputation. He may claim land via his father, his mother, or his children (through their mothers' rights), and in each case may trace descent back to a variety of apical ancestors.[9]

The next most inclusive sociological concept beyond the ego-oriented circle of ***zamad*** is that of ***agar***, or "homeland."* The co-residents of one's ***agar***, like those who comprise one's circle of ***zamad***, are regarded as forming an important "in-group," outside of which all other persons are a priori rejected. Yet the Amharic concept of homeland, like that of kin, does not refer to a fixed social entity; its referent varies according to the context in which the individual chooses to use it. Thus, as we have seen, the concept of ***agar*** may be used to refer to one's parish, district, province, or even nation.

A more specialized dichotomy of some prominence in the outlook of the Amhara peasant hinges on variation in the altitude of homelands. Inhabitants of lowlands (***qolaññā***) and dwellers of higher regions (***dēgaññā***) tend to be conceived as polar cultural types. Different sets of habits and traits are attributed to them. Thus, according to one set of stereotypes, the ***qolaññā*** is viewed as a heavy drinker and hot tempered, while the ***dēgaññā*** is viewed as a heavy eater and inclined more to litigation than to violence. Again, the

* The less prominent category of ***wagan*** is intermediate between these two. ***Wagan*** has a primarily political connotation; it consists of one's consanguineal and affinal kin, friends and close retainers, all who may be mobilized in the event of political or military competition.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

836 183 peers with the insulting term *šīlb* ("castrated one"). Indeed, the word that comes closest to signifying male adolescent in Amharic, *goramsā*, has the primary connotation of one who goes around with women.

836 572 [837] The conditions attending premarital sexual experience for youths explain in part the nature of adoleseent male peer relations. A *goramsā* needs at least one fairly close friend, not only as a confidant for his "secrets," but also to aid him in his affairs. When one *goramsā* goes to the home of a married woman—the strict controls against premarital affairs for girls limit his choice to married women or divorcees—the other stands guard to see that the husband or anyone else does not intrude. When he finds himself in rivalry with a competitor for the same woman, the friend assists him if the fighting gets difficult. On the other hand, the existence of a limited number of accessible females in any area implies that no alliance of friends can become very large; the competition is too great. The conflicts of interest among *goramsā* often provoke feuding and sometimes serious *dulā* fights.

836 572 578 The unwed girl, by contrast, must remain a virgin at all costs. It is important to the groom, not only because of the religious and social sentiments involved, but also because the Amhara male cherishes the sense of "conquering" his woman. A girl who is found not to be a virgin on her wedding night will be beaten by her husband and possibly returned to her parents. Her parents will be scandalized, and, if she is sent back, will probably give her a beating.

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882 In order to protect the girl's virginity, she is kept under close watch by her parents after the age of ten or eleven. They do not allow her to go outside the home area by herself or to associate with boys who are not her relatives. She attends festive celebrations in the company of her parents. In some families she is kept from doing excessively heavy work in order to prevent the accidental rupture of her hymen.

881 582 The onset of menstruation is kept secret, since menstruation is seen as a shameful event for the unmarried woman. But as the girl approaches the age of puberty her mother will be advised by other female relatives that it is time to be on the lookout for a husband. Twelve or thirteen is the customary marrying age for girls, as compared with the late teens or early twenties for boys; and it has not been uncommon for girls to marry still younger, especially in former times.

*883 [832] [584] This strict surveillance of the daughter does not wholly prevent a mild sort of flirting which occurs at the marketplace or on public holidays. On the latter occasions, especially Masqāl and Ṭimqat, the girl may make some effort to appear attractive. She may wear her best clothes, dress up her hair, and, if she can afford it, put on a bit of perfume. These occasions provide a chance for the unmarried boy to spot an interesting mate, in which case he

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Rome and the life of Abraham Lincoln than with the geography of their immediate community or the history of their own native country."[16] While a certain amount of concentration on remote matters may be essential for introducing modern adolescents to the substance and background of modern culture, it is doubtful whether they are being prepared to relate meaningfully to the society of their adulthood if that society is not made a subject for careful consideration during their schooldays.

Still another limitation on the effectiveness of the teachers stems from a quite different problem, the Ethiopian's ambivalence toward foreigners. This will be overcome with the gradual Ethiopianization of the teaching force, but that cannot be achieved for at least another generation. One area in which this problem manifests itself is linguistic nationalism. English, the official language of all post-elementary instruction, is still regarded as an outsider's tongue in Ethiopia, unlike other African countries where the European language in question serves the native peoples as a *lingua franca;* and many Ethiopians hope that the day will come when it will be replaced by Amharic as the medium of instruction.[17] Due to their ignorance of Amharic or other Ethiopian languages, foreign teachers are rarely able to gain the sort of closeness to their students that promotes the more profoundly beneficial sort of relationship. Because of this and a tradition of suspiciousness regarding foreigners, all but the radically Westernized students maintain a lingering mistrust of the teacher *qua* foreigner.

The gaps in the socialization of the modern adolescent left by the nature of his teachers and their teaching are filled to some extent by his peers. In this respect, too, modern adolescence contrasts with the traditional pattern: not only has the role of mentor and model been taken over by foreign teachers in place of the parents, but also the modern adolescent has become dependent on his peers to a degree unthinkable in traditional Amhara society.

It has been natural that the modern adolescent turn to those his own age for moral support. However much they may support the idea of his going to school as a means to a higher salary, his parents have little understanding of the new directions inherent in modern education. His foreign teachers are, at worst, preoccupied with their own narrow interests or else, at best, out of tune with the Ethiopian ethos and mentality. Older modernized Ethiopians, who should be the most sympathetic, are usually too preoccupied with their own adjustment problems to pay much attention. His schoolmates thus become his only reliable allies in the battle of growing up.

Association with age-mates is informal for the most part. There have been almost no formal youth associations or clubs in Ethiopia. The teen-age gang, with its sharp boundaries and tight controls, has scarcely come into being. Relations with peers thus takes the form of small groups of friends. More

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

than half the secondary students questioned, and well over a third of the college students, stated that the number of their friends was only one, two, three, or four. 883* 178 572 •

Almost all the students indicated that they prefer close, intimate, and enduring friendships to casual, impersonal, and frequently changing relationships. There is thus something of the traditional *goramsā*'s companion about these relations, in that these boys define their friends as confidants, as individuals with whom they can disclose "secrets" and discuss personal problems. But the modern relationship is much broader, for it also includes such activities as studying together; going on walks; playing athletic games; going to the movies; visiting the brothels; talking about education, life, and the future; seeing the sights around town.

The great sociological significance of these small clusters of companions, or *bālīnjarā* as they are called, is that they play a crucial part in mediating the transition from a childhood that is essentially traditional, despite exposure to certain modern subjects in school, to an adulthood that will be lived essentially in the modern sector. At the same time that they help the newcomer adjust to each local school community, they are helping him adjust to the broader subculture of modernizing Ethiopia—explaining the strange things and ideas he encounters; correcting his behavior, for example, by showing the proper use of silverware at the table; and refining his language, when necessary, from that of the rustic to that of the urbanite. Their creative function is no less important. Through countless conversations, some idle and some intense, they work to interpret and integrate stimuli coming from many sources—from movies; magazines; the example of Europeans living in Ethiopia; the behavior of government officials, as well as from their teachers—and thus form a sort of buffer between the lone adolescent and the various authoritative influences in his life. 883* 178 572 182

Despite the radical changes in the position of the Amhara adolescents described above—their complete dependence on the government school system, their tutelage under foreign instructors, and their great reliance on age-mates —the traditional pattern of adolescent submission to parental authority still runs strong. Even though most students live as boarders or in rented quarters, they maintain contact with their parents on occasional visits or at vacation time. However far removed, they remain deeply attached to their families and sensitive to the wishes of their parents. How to acquire money to send to their families is often a dominant concern in their lives. Though in most cases the parents can not provide meaningful orientation regarding adjustment to changing conditions in Ethiopia, they do give advice about how their children should behave and try to keep them faithful to traditional norms. The fact 883* 178 593

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*883 that parents still wield considerable moral influence over the modern adoles-
178 cents, more so even than their peers, is shown by the figures in Table 3.
593 This persistence of parental influence keeps the Ethiopian adolescent anchored in his traditional culture and accounts in part for a noticeable conservatism among Ethiopian students generally. With respect to such matters as morality, etiquette, family solidarity, and religion, students are strongly inclined to follow their parents' precepts.

While this deep-grained attachment to their parents gives the modern adolescents a sense of stability and security, it is also responsible for consider-

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TABLE 3

RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF PARENTS AND FRIENDS ON STUDENTS

Extent to Which Students Say They Follow Advice	Secondary School		College Males (per cent)
	Males (per cent)	Females (per cent)	
Of parents:			
Always	46	35	17
Usually	43	60	65
Not often	11	5	18
Of friends:			
Always	19	8	8
Usually	47	61	53
Not often	34	31	39
Number	(396)	(40)	(197)

*883
178 able strain in their lives. For there are few families—less than three per cent
593 of our sample—in which the students do not remark some significant area of
[561] disagreement between their parents and themselves. The modest steps toward modernity that Ethiopia has taken have already kindled a smoldering conflict between generations, perhaps for the first time in Ethiopian history. It is
121 against that background of conflict that we now examine the condition in
128 changing Ethiopia of the three main sociological functions of adolescence:
182 preparation for adult work roles, preparation for marriage roles, and integra-
882 tion into the adult intellectual and moral order.

883 *Preparation for Work*
463 The most conspicuous function of the secondary schools and colleges in
182 Ethiopia is to train young people for careers unknown in their traditional

*793 423 593 621 554 holds priest land because he is a risteña of a founding ambilineage of the parish, his son's ordination means that the lands or payments until now turned over to a stranger priest (in lieu of a risteña priest) can be kept within the family.

*793 621 581 [837] *[192] [586] The durability of the ties which bind a priest to his natal parish are reinforced by his marriage. Most peasants are married in a "secular union" (yaluwkurban migabat), which excludes neither divorce not extra-marital sexual adventures.[21] The priest, on the other hand, must be married, and it can be only as a "communion marriage" (bikurban migabat), an indissoluble sacrament of the Church which commits the spouses to sexual fidelity and forbids even remarriage. Thus, the priest is cut off from carousing in the talla houses of the town. He must instead confine his comraderie to the courtyard of the parish church, separated from the persons and experiences which might otherwise lead him away from his parish fields.

• [572]

*793 621 869 Thus enrollment in the parish school is conceived

[21] Two other forms of marriage, associated with a man on travels or living in town, are yidomoz migabat (which lasts for a contractual period) and yilijinat (providing only exclusive sexual rights to the woman).

judged directly according to their offensiveness to the Church, and indirectly according to the availability of morally more acceptable alternatives. Professionally, the acquisition of abinet is guided by the quality and size of the debtera's capital, and of his ability to utilize abinet which are available to him.

The First Abinet. With few exceptions, a student's first abinet acquisitions are herbalist therapies and complementary digams. These early therapies address the most persistent threats of his environment, ikek (scabies), saal (cough), and kurtimat (joint pains). In addition, the student frequently obtains the recipe for a stimulant which ostensibly increases his acuity for learning kiyne.

These first abinet studies are generally gifts, since a student rarely possesses anything beyond deference and abjectness with which he can appeal to a potential donor. He has two sources from which he can obtain this knowledge. The first is a gwadeña or sympathetic balinjera. Among a student's fellows, he has a single special friend, whom he calls gwadeña. The gwadeña is his constant companion, who begs for ego when the latter is too sick to get his own food; he is completely trustworthy, and, with the exception of his money reserves gained from gramta sales and the like, whatever he possesses is at ego's disposal. The relationship is sym-

metrical; it is also characteristically brittle, and rarely lasts beyond attendance at the kiyne school. A student's balinjeras are, literally, his mess-mates. They form an exclusive group of peers, reliable confidants pledged to cooperation. Beyond the circle of balinjeras, all students are implicitly towdaderiys (rivals). Between both gwadeñas and balinjeras favors are expected to be freely given and no formal accounting kept, although the latter are less committed to sharing than are the former. Because the new boy's gwadeña and balinjera are, like himself, in the first two years of the kiyne curriculum, the abinet repertoire of either consists of few studies, and these with little or no magical content. Ego's second source of abinet is an older, more knowledgeable student, who has been made aware of the novice's difficulties, and is willing to help. The relationship between the donor and recipient here is perceived as an exchange between radat (benefactor) and taraj (beneficiary). The new boy is abject, he is without power, and faces immediate dangers and difficulties. By his gift, the donor dramatizes a status difference between himself and novices in general, differences based on the culturally significant contrast between power and dependency. The recipient, by his deferential behavior, validates the donor's self-image.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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*[759] The debtera's advantages over the secular healer are real enough, but (with the exception of awdunigist) they are primarily professional, rather then technical. That is to say, a debtera acquires his extensive medical repertoire and utilizes it successfully as the result of experiences and opportunities that accompany his pursuit of the ecclesiastical denotata of debterahood, and of exchanges he makes with fellow debteras. Most important among the debtera's professional advantages, is his ability to 1) develop and use a highly fluid capital for acquiring medical and non-medical studies, and 2) communicate to his public his domains of competence and putative level of power.

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*[192] Abinet Capital. The debtera acquires abinet studies by 1) exercising the claims of friendship (gwadeña), 2) performing services (often combined with deferential behavior) for the abinet owner, 3) exchanging money for abinet, or 4) exchanging abinet for abinet. All, save the last, are relatively inefficient means for acquiring abinet, and are generally limited to the period of kiyne study, and perhaps the following two or three years.

• [672] Friendship is the debtera's least fluid asset, since it limits ego to a single alter for an extended period, and to the acquisition of only one or two valuable studies. To "exploit" this asset, by a sequence of alters or by an effort to tap alter's abinet resources

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more completely, is to violate the conventions of the gwadeña relationship, and to close it off to ego altogether. Moreover, the intense gwadeña relationship, which binds pairs of kiyne students is typically brittle, and is infrequent in later years when commercially valuable abinet are being acquired. Finally the gwadeña relationship is antithetical to the independent and aloof (kuruw) character associated with the man who owns strong abinet.

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The exchange of labor for abinet is difficult to arrange. An abinet owner must be found who is disposed to such exchanges, and has not already obtained someone to fulfill his needs. For the recipient, the exchange means often demeaning work over an extended period of time, with a humiliating lack of an effective quid pro quo, in order to acquire a single abinet study.

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Debteras are not reluctant to price their abinet studies, in Ethiopian dollars, for prospective purchasers. Since a man's standing as a practitioner of abinet is intimately related to the effectiveness of his individual studies, the evaluation of his abinet against a nearly universal standard of value (Ethiopian dollars) is likely to be understood as an implicit personal challenge. Thus, the owner's evaluation of his abinet is inevitably greater than any amount likely to be paid. Prices range from E$50. to E$500., immense sums relative